3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

285 415 [531] [462] of the nut, and have rather the appearance of wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously stained and ornamented with beads or shells worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are generally made by men, to hold axes and other tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are generally made by men.

285 [338] *Bawlà*, mats for thatching houses, are either made by men or women, but more frequently by the former.

462 565 [285] [434] [303] Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made by women of some rank as an amusing as well as profitable occupation, exchanging them afterwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making 283 [462] [565] thread is an occupation of females of the lower order: it is performed by twisting the separate parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*.

413 247 727 396 Needles are generally made by carpenters out of human thigh bones, which are procured from their enemies slain in battle: the only use they have for them is to make sails.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539 825 436

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he is close. 539 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be nobody to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves annoyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance from them. [829] [622]

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself, and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appearance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare Nos. 146 and 167.) [828]

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is used of a handsome face. [826]

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* (*Ficus prolixa*). 539 824 825 137 136 571 554 622 556

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree, and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, moreover, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted by its distinguished appearance. The application is that people like to flock to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues against me, and they were so demoralised by the turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation. There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere, and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected, was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms. They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church. Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they "talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Some time was lost in attempting to begin at the date of Mr Baker's dismissal and work backwards; but with the discovery that many of the vouchers were missing, and that there was no means of ascertaining the exact amount of revenue, we abandoned hope of making a complete audit of the past year, and contented ourselves with a scrutiny of the payments we knew to have been made. But before examining the books for which an audit certificate had been published, I applied to Herr T——, the only surviving auditor, for permission to publish a criticism of these accounts, a request to which he very kindly acceded.

The financial system is worth describing. There was a head-treasury at Nukualofa, and sub-treasuries at Haapai, Vavau, and the two Niuas. The native revenue-collectors were required to pay in their weekly receipts to the sub-treasurer, who kept with intermittent exactitude elaborate books ruled in columns for every conceivable head of receipt. When sufficient time had been allowed for accumulation the Premier made a descent upon the sub-treasuries, and carried off the money to Nukualofa, amid the murmurs of the men of Haapai and Vavau, who thought that the money should be spent in their own island. When the bags of silver reached the head-treasury, Tubo, the chief clerk, patiently counted it over, entered it in his books as revenue from Haapai or Vavau, as the case might be, and put it into his safe for the liquidation of "Treasury Orders." These "Treasury Orders" were a financial triumph of which any Chancellor of the Exchequer might be proud. When salaries or accounts became due the "Paymaster" drew a cheque upon the Treasury,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

652 436 which, when countersigned by Mr Baker as Auditor-General, became virtually a floating paper currency until redeemed by presentation at the head-treasury. Let us trace the career of one of these "Treasury Orders" now before me. It was drawn on January 7, 1889, in favour of Sekonaia Tuuhetoka for 27 dollars, probably a quarter's rent of one of the leases in Haapai, since it is indorsed "Department of Leases." It bears Mr Baker's signature lithographed, besides Sateki's name as *Minisita Peimasita* (Minister Paymaster), and S. E. W. Baker's as clerk to the [453] Premier. Tuuhetoka has long ago forestalled this money at the nearest store, and he hands over the "Treasury Order" towards the reduction of his score, in the hope that it may so far soften the heart of the merchant as to procure fresh credit for him. In March the storekeeper buys a cartload of copra from a native, and tenders Tuuhetoka's "Treasury Order" in payment; and a week later the man hands it to the tax clerk in settlement of his poll-tax, now two years in arrear. It is written in the law that the sub-treasurers shall not cash "Treasury Orders," but it is nowhere forbidden to receive them as revenue. So the clerk gives him a receipt in full for his taxes, and the revenue-books show the country to be 27 dollars richer for the worthless paper which has never been debited as expenditure. Then the Premier's descent upon the sub-treasury is made, and the "Treasury Order" finishes its mendacious career in the wastepaper-basket in Nukualofa. Sometimes a "Treasury Order," eight years old, was presented for payment, grimy and frayed from wandering from hand to hand in some distant island, but the finances were conducted on too large a scale to be disturbed by such trifles.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

The salary or rent due for 1831 was paid in 1889, and no one but the auditors—who were not expected to worry about such minutiæ—could be one whit the worse.

The "Treasury Orders" served their purpose, however. Printed in Tongan, and countersigned by Sateki, they kept the natives from asking inconvenient questions, and left the Premier free to indulge his overmastering appetite for spending money. The Customs duties and rents were paid by Europeans in cheques upon Australian and New Zealand banks, and these, being beyond the ken of Tongans, were handed over to Mr Baker to be paid into an account in the Union Bank in Auckland, of which he had the absolute control. To clothe this position with a sort of authority, he kept two sets of books,—the one labelled Agent-General, and the other Auditor-General,—hoping probably to suggest the inference that the Auditor kept a suspicious check upon the Agent. But the Auditor-General seems to have been an easy-going, pliant sort of official, who hated to make himself disagreeable, and contented himself with keeping his books on a plan of his own, which—so great was the sympathy that existed between the two officers—proved to be identical with that adopted by his methodical colleague.

Estimates were made for grovelling spirits. They are a useful check upon incompetent rulers, but a blighting drag upon the soaring genius of a dictator. The Constitution, it is true, says—

> Nor shall any money be paid out of the Government Treasury or debts contracted by the Government but as shall be arranged by the Legislative Assembly excepting in cases of war or rebellion or fearful epidemic or a like calamity and in such case it

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga.

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails.

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 0U9 Tonga 0U9

can develop into important agencies for the country's economic development.

Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the development of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350 Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

Tongan Trade

Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9 in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.*

Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials —copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits, automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

*Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137,365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	79,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 0U9 Tonga 0U9

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors influencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and important being education, which permits social mobility in a society still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

[35] Spillfus (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

REFERENCES

Breese, G., 1966, *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Fiefia, S. N., 1968, *Kingdom of Tonga: Report on the Results of the 1966 Census*, Nuku'alofa.

Gifford, E. W., 1929, *Tongan Society*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 61, Honolulu.

Hirschman, A. O., 1958, *The Strategy of Economic Development*, New Haven.

Kennedy, T. F., 1958, "Village Settlement in Tonga", *New Zealand Geographer*, XIV, 2, pp. 161-172.

Kirk, D., 1958, in *Selected Studies of Migrations since World War II*, Milbank Memorial Fund, Part III, pp. 11-29.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

In 'Uiha, slightly under half of the *'api tukuhau* were unregistered and thus technically held by commoners at the pleasure of the noble. Nevertheless, I recorded no cases of eviction. However, there were cases in which landholders whose lands were both registered and unregistered consented to 'switching' or redistribution of their lands at the request of the noble. The noble periodically requests goods from his people, most often in kind (pigs, yams, or other root crops), occasionally in money (I heard of one request for $ 100 T).[8] There was occasionally some grumbling among villagers about the injustice of these offerings, but in effect such requests are made infrequently and are always fulfilled. The noble, through his representatives, maintains an interest in the happenings within his village and sets policies for his people to follow (such as the decision to fence pigs in or let them run free), whether these accord with policies of government departments or not. Finally, the noble is in fact the largest landholder in the community, reserving for his own use a number of *'api tukuhau*. He has the option of distributing these lands to people he chooses, either for temporary use or for permanent acquisition, or he can leave his lands idle.

The above sources of *de facto* noble power on the *tofi'a* may vary considerably from community to community based on such factors as the noble's personality, the economic conditions of his family estate, and the type of relations he has to the people of his *tofi'a*. One might suppose that a noble is in fact most powerful on a *tofi'a* where he is native and resident, and least powerful on one where he is non-native and non-resident. Given the variations that might occur, the above legal limitations and existing sources of traditional prerogatives are the constants which define the content of noble-commoner relations at the village level.

In the case of type 2 villages, e.g., 'Uiha, face-to-face contact between noble and villagers is periodic. In 'Uiha, the noble, who is a Member of Parliament in Nuku'alofa, visits his estate about three times annually, each visit being one or two weeks in duration. Otherwise, the noble makes his requests known to his people through radio messages, through announcements at *fonos*, i.e., mandatory community meetings, or through his personal representatives.

Whether face-to-face or indirect, the following appears to be the pattern of noble-commoner contact within villages: a noble makes requests or queries known to his people *as a whole*, either through an intermediary or through the institution of the *fono*. That is, the noble

[8] $1.00 Tongan is equal to approximately $1.25 United States. Values in this paper are expressed in terms of Tongan dollars.

NOTES

Chapter I

000 [1]Initial fieldwork in the village of Puke was characterized by suspicion and even hostility on the part of some villagers.

[2]At times the same exchange event would be recorded from the donor and the recipient. This provided an excellent opportunity to check for reliability, and then only the first record of the exchange would be used in the sample.

[494] [122] [3]Puke was convenient because transportation was available and reliable between the village and Nuku'alofa where I resided.

Chapter II

[436] [1]The basic unit of Tongan currency is the pa'anga 'dollar' and during this study it was valued at $T1.00 = $US1.14. All monetary figures in this text are expressed in Tongan currency.

[128] [2]Titles referred to in this text are actual titles, but all personal names appearing are fictitious.

Chapter III

[124] [1]Very few informants remember names of ancestors further removed than great grandparents.

[804] [2]One rood and 24 perches equals 64 square rods or about 3/8 acre.

Chapter IV

[1]I did record one case of adoption by an unmarried male, but that case was not in the sample from which I am generalizing.

[2]In 56 percent of adoptions recorded the adopting parents and the biological parents resided in the same village, giving ample opportunity for an adoptee to continue seeing his biological parents.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[1]

Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Change in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

Case 8.—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> they have to give to God—this is one evil—the more their mind is engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it contemplates God and things divine. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

The traders were resentful of the fact that the missionaries were chiefly responsible for the growing sophistication of the people in the art of trade. In the early days they were able to fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads, nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of schools, the people were taught the value of money and of articles of trade among the civilised countries. They soon refused to trade for cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga by ship in 1831:

> Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron. (P. Turner, Journal, 23 Feb. 1831)

Among the severest critics of the missionaries was the trader, Peter Dillon, and, in defending the mission against his accusations, the Reverend David Cargill (1842:29-30) wrote:

> We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827, the Chevalier [Dillon] 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc., for a few glass beads,' and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars.' For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to the people and would ruin their efforts. A later missionary wrote:

443 438 [436] market. Exchange is generally on a cash basis, although barter is common.

The market is open every day except Sunday, Saturday having the heaviest trading. On one Saturday, an estimated 350 sellers were present and approximately 2,000 buyers, who 443 purchased about $T3,000 worth of produce. Including non-buyers and socializers, people present may have totalled as many as 5,000 or approximately ten percent of Tongatapu's 443 438 [244] [241] [795] population. A great variety of agricultural products are sold at the market (Table 27). Some items such as rhubarb, okra, parsley, and certain varieties of squash are marketed solely by well-organized truck gardening operations, including the Mormon Church, but most items are grown primarily on bush or town allotments. Most sellers are part-443 [444] time or target marketers, who sell only when they have surplus agricultural products or are in need of cash for a specific purpose. The balance of the sellers, no more than 25 percent, are either representatives of co-operative societies and missionary societies or middlemen who buy products from individual farmers and serve as retailers.

443 438 In short, the market is: 1) a source of cash for rural people; 90 percent of the sellers in the market during a study on January 22, 1972, were from outside Nuku'alofa); 2) an important food source for the increasing urban/non-agrarian population of Nuku'alofa (approximately 85 percent of the food purchased was purchased by consumers in the Nuku'alofa area); 3) an important source of firewood, Tongan medicine,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1741]

/19 cont./

181
426
434 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about 700 German marks).

181
264
574 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them; the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181
177 European influence has been able to change but little their general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is

181
199
184 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of their plantations and other goods for money, (11)

436
437

11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.

181
434
435 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)

12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[186] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish, just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[798] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[476] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[936] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
621 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
432 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
554 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
177 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
436 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
632 not happen to have prepared one for himself.
[571]

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/139/

342 178 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 197 463 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building specialization; some skilful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to build such types of houses. (368)

368. All European-style houses are, incidentally, today built by Tongans without guidance by whites. The natives can also build a European shed on concrete bases and even know how to make concrete tiles by themselves (from the necessary imported material).

(333)

342 436 463 465 331 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven) during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 435 178 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

/139 cont./

000 342 197 436 (Fungamisi). As a result of the growing use of European building materials for the old-style Tongan houses and especially as a result of the introduction of the European-style houses, however, money takes on an increasing importance for the procurement of material in house building.

342 423 425 A Tongan who plans to build a house must of course, decide where it is to be located. If he has not yet obtained property in the village (api kolo) (371)

371. See p. 173.

from the government and does not wish to build on the property of a relative, he must hand in a proper request to the authorities for the 342 assignment of a plot of land. Meanwhile he will soon start building preparations, for these take a fairly long time. The preparations--as in former times--consist chiefly of procuring the building material and obtaining food supplies to feed the workers.

342 283 824 /140/Making sufficient quantities (several thousand meters) of coconut-fiber cord (kafa) for lashing the framework and for fastening the coconut-leaf covering is still an important prerequisite for building a dwelling in ancient Tongan style. The natives gather large 283 coconuts with especially long husks (niu kafa), remove these and divide them into four (eight) pieces which they place in a basket weighted with stones and lay in a shallow place in the sea for about a month. Then they beat them on a block of hard wood (or on a stone) with a stick or toa wood 30 to 40 centimeters long, in order to loosen the fibers and remove the crumbly material between them. After the fibers have been dried in the sun they are rolled in small bundles (372)

372. From 5 to 25 fibers each, depending on their thickness.

with the palm of the hand on the naked thigh (or between two palms),

/240 cont./

000 opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
178 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa) buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90 £T. and spare parts for about 200 £T. He repairs the truck himself and has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
[434] for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7 £T. a day and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English

/241 cont./

472 these available for transporting persons and freight to make money.
[463] Finally, workmen of the chief towns (bakers, tailors, hair-cutters) also belong to those engaged in business, while most of the carpenters and blacksmiths in the villages of the small islands do not yet show a purely acquisitive sense.

472 Thus a trade engaged in on the principle of permanent monetary gain
177 has arisen in Tonga only as a result of European influence, and a few
181 natives can today be called "tradesmen" in this sense. Only pressure for moneymaking resulting from overpopulation as well as a considerable increase of /242/ European influence will probably arouse economic acqusitiveness among the majority of Tongans and will be able to overcome the feelings and values of these natives /incompatible with such activity/.

H. Money in the Life of the Tongans

436 Money is something utterly new in Tonga. In the past the chiefs,
425 in accordance with their authority, obtained freely everything they
565 wished from commoners without compensation, (643)

643. Particularly esteemed workers, however, were repaid with gifts.

and the commoners among themselves probably acted according to the still current system of "anticipated reciprocity." (644)

644. Namely, request for something without direct return service (see pp. 136-137).

This arrangement was taken for granted by all Tongans.

436 Today money plays an important role in the economic life of
[177] these people. Tongan currency, modeled on the British pattern, works with pounds, shillings and pence. The value of a Tongan pound (£T.) corresponds to an Australian pound. The bank notes issued by the Kingdom of Tonga are made out in the amount of 5£T., 1£T., 10 shillings and 4 shillings. In addition, there are Australian

/242 cont./

436 (not so much English, New Zealand and Fiji) silver and copper coins in circulation. The bank notes in circulation on December 31, 1951 amounted to 175,683 £T. (645)

645. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. p. 11.

Tongan money--though made of paper--is regarded as a positive measure of value, not only by whites, but especially by natives, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago. The government pays with it, its civil servants and employees; the Copra Board buys copra made by the natives with this money; the Tongans pay their taxes with it, do all their shopping at storekeepers with it, and even like to use money in the villages on the small islands to buy a house, for example, or a boat. The present economic life of the Kingdom of Tonga (including all imports and exports) would be unthinkable without the presence of money. It still seems necessary, however, for a [563] white man to fill the post of minister of finance and supervise the [645] regulation and security of Tongan currency. Owing to this European 652 influence, and especially to the favorable economic conditions of 436 the Kingdom of Tonga, the currency as well as the entire national [179] budget are quite sound; the country is without debts and in 1950 [454] 424,808 £T. were even invested abroad. (646)

646. Report of the Honourable the Minister for Finance for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 2.

434 The average Tongan earns his cash chiefly from copra production; the annual income from this aimed at by most families /243/ is today probably somewhere between 30 and 300 £T. (647)

647. See p. 302-304.

[439] In addition, in the chief towns, there are limited opportunities for [432] earning money through banana export and the sale of watermelons and pineapples.

/243 cont./

000 pineapples.

436 178 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/ [425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service"; [437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor [435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 432 436 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches, tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools, to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received 20 £T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15 £T. worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and 436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money [177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations 425 426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their 436 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing, 178 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom, from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands-- there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a 426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed 436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to 178

/243 cont./

426 436 178 give it back, the creditor will not be much concerned and will regard the matter as settled, in accordance with the old Tongan custom.

436 434 There is no doubt that the natives have learned to value money and like it, but even the present high copra prices have not led to a "copra intoxication" and /244/ a "money fever." They often give away [431] whole loads of coconuts, and in the Copra Board in Neiafu, for example, it was observed in 1952 that the Tongans who could not be paid the full copra price as a result of a temporary shortage of pence coins, did not come back even after several weeks to pick up their three-or ten-pence.

454 436 For most of the natives the idea of saving, in the sense of a continuous accumulation of sums of money, is unfamiliar. About four decades ago many families were said to have saved relatively large sums in order to build. At that time several of the European-type frame houses were erected. Today large objects such as [428] dwellings, cement tanks and carts have often been inherited, and money [432] is spent on clothing and food and other European goods. Given the [439] normal demand, the to some extent, artificially produced demand by 434 the shopkeeper's promotion, and the relatively high prices, money is 436 soon spent in a large family.

436 454 472 Though the majority of Tongans do not use money purposefully (in the European sense), there is nevertheless no dearth of examples of deliberate management of money after the manner of whites. Thus, for example, F.S., a Tongan shopkeeper on Nomuka, through carefully considered management, within nine months (1951/52), increased his capital from 61£T. to about 800£T. and the two aforementioned truck drivers as well as the lemonade seller on Lifuka (648)

648. See pp. 361-364.

[181] may also serve as example of a wise use of money. These natives,

/244 cont./

454 [436] 422 [181] [179] [652] [453] however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings accounts with deposits of 181,611 £T. (649)

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 426 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they [671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 179 178 182 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some [425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns,
(432) however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the
(574) same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-
(181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
177 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
799 change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/297 cont./

In Samoa, too, new professions such as pastor, physician (Samoan medical practitioner /cited in English/), teacher, administrative official and shopkeeper, have arisen as a result of European influence on the Islands. However, only a few natives, probably fewer than in Tonga, have begun to carry on in business; their traditional community system does not by any means favor such individual enterprises. These changes have thus far had no great influence on the economic life of the masses of Samoans. As in Tonga, such an influence should not be seen in the use of money, though this is widespread in the Archipelago as a result of copra, cocoa and banana sales, and it has even entered into their customs in the most remote villages, (17)

17. For example at weddings, the exchange of a rather large sum of money (family of the bridegroom) and Samoan goods (family of the bride).

yet has nowhere made the natives absolutely dependent on money, nor has it resulted in a true cash economy. Every Samoan--like every Tongan--can still, if necessary, live in his village without money. (18)

18. Thanks to their social and economic system.

and there is scarcely any methodical use of money, (19)

19. For example, although the population doubled from 1921 to 1947, the total production of copra remained the same during this period (see Department of External Affairs, Western Samoa 1947. p. 43).

because it does not fit in with the character and needs of these people and because the old community system has been preserved /298/ and has hitherto proved stronger than the corrupting effect of money.

The old Samoan religion, like that of the Tongans, was obliterated long ago (likewise approximately a century ago), and Christianity has permeated the life of these natives; only insignificant remnants of their

G /320 cont./
461 work for chief and king, military service, bark cloth making) today
434 often cultivates for purposes of sale; often men and women have separate cotton plantations and the latter regard the proceeds from their sales as their exclusive property.

G The Baganda, like the Tongans, have also become acquainted with
T new professions, and some are teachers, pastors, assistant physicians,
463 administrative employees, /321/ plantation overseers, houseboys,
179 askaris and chauffeurs. Among the old crafts that of the smith
G in particular has been retained, and is limited to certain kinship
[326] associations. A good many Baganda are quite successful as tailors and cabinetmakers. Business seems to appeal to them no more than it does to most Tongans; in this African kingdom there are very few native shop owners, which may be partly due to the activity of the
G Indians in this field. A few Baganda run small inns on the main
T highways, an occupation for which the Tongans lack inclination and
[485] opportunity.

G These natives, like the Islanders, have become quite accustomed to
T European money and use it to a great extent to pay their taxes, to
436 buy imported goods, as well as to pay off debts among themselves;
179 for them money meant not so much a complete innovation, but rather a substitute for, and a further development of, their old "currency" which consisted of cowrie shells, beads, bark cloth and wire. Though
G the goat and bark cloth still play a definite role among the Baganda
[431] as ceremonial gifts, nevertheless European money has gained greater importance in their customs (that is, marriage, birth and death) than it has among the Tongans. However, the European attitude towards money has remained as alien to these Africans as it has to those South Sea Islanders; in economic matters they are by no means calculating, and it is not unusual for them to be entirely without money for months

100: Koch--483 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ganda FK7

GT 436 177 /321 cont./ after having promptly spent it following their cotton harvest.

Christianity is today the religion of almost all the Baganda. GT 771 177 It has become for them the obvious way of coming to terms with the supernatural. The Christian religion means a great deal to these natives, they have a similar, precise knowledge of the bible as the Tongans and--as in that Archipelago--in places where they have no European supervision they carry on their ritual of worship independently under the leadership of native Anglican and Catholic clergymen. As among the Islanders, here too the promise of paradise, as well as the association of this religion with the glamor of the European, and finally the wish for social recognition and representation may be the chief reasons why the Christian faith was adopted. In Buganda, as in GT 771 177 178 the Tonga Archipelago, the old religion is no longer publicly practiced though, according to reports at hand, the conversion of the people of this country does not seem to be as complete. Along with inconsequential remnants of "paganism," which among the Christian natives are scarcely more important than the surviving remnants of the old religion in Tonga, /322/ the belief in the spirits of their ancestors which has been so important in the African kingdom has been largely preserved, and even the significance of magic powers and of sorcery could be only weakened by the church and government laws, but by no means extinguished; this seems noteworthy in view of the fact that in Tonga the power of the once so all-embracing taboo has long since been broken and forgotten.

GT 868 871 177 With regard to the transmission of knowledge, conditions in Buganda have changed in similar fashion as in the Tonga Archipelago: Their way of growing into the various tasks of life through simple imitation of older people and without particular systematic instruction has here too been supplemented by a European type of school

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

423 allotments are unclaimed, or the surveying for allotments has not
425 kept pace with demand.

423 Acquiring a vacant parcel of land is also complicated by
425 tradition and the power of the estate holder, as was mentioned
565 previously. A noble may delay the registration of the leased
661 allotment with the Ministry of Lands, thereby enabling him to extract favors and gifts from those using his estate. Several farmers in Vava'u, responding to interview questions, reported having agreed to lease land from a particular noble, and after paying the customary favor, discovered that the land was already leased.

423 Many estate holders are reluctant to relinquish their powerful posi-
425 tion. Subsequently, the allotments which were listed in the 1958
[565] national survey as being available have been only slowly distributed.

423 The Tongan law requires a yearly payment of 80 cents to the
427 government or estate holder, by each farmer (Report of the Ministry
[651] of Lands and Survey 1973, p. 3). However, investigation indicated that many rents are far in excess of this requirement. Frequently,
[436] farmers estimated their yearly rent to be more than ten dollars. In many cases, rents are paid with gifts of food, such as pigs or yams, or other material items, which are valued at more than 80 cents, and make an accurate estimate of an average tax rate difficult to determine (Clark 1974).

423 This situation may, in part, explain the widespread failure
427 by farmers to pay rent as required. Table 12 lists 1,241 allotment
685 holders, throughout the Kingdom, who have failed to pay rent, and this delinquency continues to grow. Note that in 1971, only 1,034

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

cover, which is attractive to rats. However, the initial expense of cattle, plus continued capital outlay for maintenance, substantially reduces the profitability of this scheme.

Goats were owned by 27.5 percent of the total survey sample. Although a potentially valuable source of meat and milk, roaming goats cause considerable crop damage in Tonga. The goat is one of three scavengers, competing with pigs and fowl for household refuse and other edible items. While goats are occasionally used for meat on special occasions, the pig is considered to be a much more prestigious food or gift. In addition, because of the low status ascribed to goats, use of goat's milk is avoided. Thus, the role of the goat in Tongan agriculture is expected to remain one of little significance.

Pigs are the most prestigious livestock raised in Tonga, and were owned by 55 percent of the survey sample. As mentioned previously, the pig is a meat source used for important social functions and traditional gifts. Being the most common of Tongan livestock, the pig plays an indispensable role in the control of garbage and refuse, plus provision of meat protein. Most households own several pigs, raising them as a food source or as a means to fulfill a variety of social obligations. It is not uncommon for taxes, debts and other financial obligations, especially to the nobility, to be paid with one or more pigs. Pork is not included in the average Tongan weekday diet, being consumed primarily during main Sunday meals or at feasts.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence 178 needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase 241 cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation 182 from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. [458] [731] These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban